

The American Observer

A free, virtuous and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends. — James Monroe

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Europe Troubled by Minorities Problem

Solution Appears Hopeless Because of Widespread Intermingling of Peoples

NATIONAL POLICIES DIFFER

Attempts to Absorb Groups Sharply Contrasted to Guarantee of Foreigners' Rights

Scattered throughout Europe are 30,000,000 persons living in lands not their own. They form minority groups and have their own political parties. Where not permitted to do so, as in fascist states, they sometimes carry on underground political activities or, in desperation, support terrorist bands. In a number of countries, these minority groups are subjected to political discrimination and deprived of civic rights and economic opportunities. What makes their plight the more moving is that in most instances they have been placed where they are against their own will or at least without having had their own wishes consulted.

Czechoslovakia

This minority problem is extremely complex. It can best be understood through specific examples. The first that comes to mind is that of Czechoslovakia, both because it has been given wide publicity and because it suggests vividly the international complications arising out of the minority problem in Europe.

Of a total population of 15,000,000, Czechoslovakia has more than 3,000,000 Germans. The great majority of them live in the western part of the country, along the three sides of the German frontier. These Germans did not choose to live there. As a matter of fact, the territory they now inhabit was part of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy before the World War. But when the peace treaties were written, the victorious Allies decided that the Austro-Hungarian monarchy must be dismembered. This move was taken partly to leave the Central Powers, Austria and Germany, weak and partly to satisfy the political aspirations of the various nationalities seeking self-rule. Among these national groups were the Czechs and Slovaks, and the two were united in the state of Czechoslovakia. It would have been quite possible to carve out Czechoslovakia without including the large number of Germans. But France was determined that the new state should become a powerful buffer to German expansion. Her statesmen, therefore, insisted that it also be given the rich industrial region to the west, despite the fact that it was overwhelmingly German in population.

That is how Czechoslovakia has come to have a large German minority. Of course, the Allied Powers took care to provide protection for the German minority. As in the case of other states, either enlarged as the result of the war or newly created, the government was required to give guarantees that the German population would enjoy equal rights with other citizens, that it would share government posts, and that provision would be made for German children to be taught in German schools.

For the most part, these obligations to the German minority were fulfilled. Schools were provided for over 400,000 German children, about 96 per cent of all

(Concluded on page 8)



U. S. S. INDIANAPOLIS

(From a photograph by Russell Aikins, from "U. S. Camera—1935." William Morrow.)

How Well Do You Read?

Have you ever tested yourself to determine the answer to the above question? Suppose you try it. Sit down and read the article which begins on column four of this page. Read it through without stopping. Then close the paper, and think through the problems considered in the article. Do you have the whole thing well in mind? Did you follow the discussion with concentrated attention? Does the outline of it stand out in your memory? Or is it all quite hazy? Turn to page six and read the questions which bear on this particular article. Can you answer them?

If the subject covered is dim and hazy as you try to recall the contents, something is wrong. Find out what it is. Perhaps your mind wandered as you read. That frequently happens when one has not trained himself to be a good reader. You may have read several paragraphs without knowing what you were reading. The words may have been seen, but they may not have registered with you. You may have been thinking of something else. That is a mark of poor reading, but it is nothing at all unusual. Or you may not have understood some of the words. In column one, page seven, you will find an explanation of the difficulty one sometimes encounters in the attempt to gain knowledge and information and ideas from the printed page.

Whatever is wrong with your reading, it should be corrected. If your wits go wool-gathering when you read, it may be because you read too slowly. Take out your watch and time yourself while you read half a column or so under conditions of close application and fixed attention. Find out how rapidly you read when your mind is really fixed on your reading. Then keep your watch before you. Figure out how long it should take you to read one of the articles, and try to hold to the schedule. You may think that your thoughts will scatter all the more if you read rapidly, but usually that is not the case. If you set yourself to rapid reading, you are applying yourself to the task. You are alert, energetic. Ideas keep flowing in as you proceed. There is less likelihood of your getting off the track, just as there is less likelihood that a bicyclist will get off the track if he goes at a good speed than if he travels at a snail's pace. See that you understand the meanings of all the words and terms that you come across. Use your dictionary freely. And buckle down to your task. Be attentive, energetic, alert. Watch for results. Test yourself frequently. Then after a while you may expect to be reading well; to be making really effective use of the printed page.

U. S. Naval Policy Is Closely Examined

Increase in Expenditures for Arms Raises Issue Over Basic National Aims

PHILIPPINE FUTURE DEBATED

Relation of U. S. to South America, Protection of Foreign Trade, Figure in Discussion

It is a very peculiar thing (though not altogether unusual) to find everyone doing something which he deplores but which each one says he cannot stop unless the others do. The nations of the world find themselves in that peculiar situation today. They are all engaged in an armaments race. Each one is piling up a heavy burden of taxation, impoverishing its people to build more ships, more big guns, more military airplanes, larger armies. Each one says it is acting in self-defense, that it would be glad to stop this mad race if the others did. The common people of all the countries believe this. They think they are in danger of attack or that their vital interests are being hurt by neighboring nations. They think they can look after these vital interests only by becoming more powerful fighters.

The Arms Race

For a long time the United States stood aloof from this arms race or, at any rate, took only a half-hearted interest in it. Our building program lagged in comparison with those carried on by some of the other countries. But now we have taken our place among the runners. We are increasing our expenditures for the coming year. "We shall be expending \$200,000,000 more than any other nation on earth," said Herbert Hoover in an address last week. "In fact," continued the former President, "we are leading the arms race."

Is it necessary that we do this? Is it wise? These are very important questions. We know, of course, that when we redouble our efforts at arms building, other countries will feel obliged to do the same. They must keep pace. A spurt on the part of any nation adds to the strain which all feel. It intensifies the race. We are therefore assuming considerable responsibility when we step out in front. On the other hand, no patriotic American wants this country to sacrifice any of its vital interests. All will agree that we should be strong enough to protect those of our interests which are really vital. If we are going to find it necessary to fight, we want to be able to win. We cannot, therefore, answer the question, how large should our armed forces be? without inquiring concerning the uses to which we may be obliged to put them. What may we go to war for and whom may we fight? Upon our answer to this question depends our answer as to the proper size of our armaments.

Let us then face these imperative questions frankly and thoughtfully. What may we fight for? What should we fight for? Here are the possibilities which we must consider:

1. To protect the American mainland. No one questions that we should be prepared to do that. We should be able to repel any probable invaders from American territory. But our ability to do that is not a present issue. We are already able to do it. We are prepared now to fight off any conceivable combination of nations. We can do it without increasing our armed forces.

	NAVAL TONNAGE			WAR PLANES			ARMIES	
	AFLOAT	PROVIDED FOR		RUSSIA	5,000		REGULAR	TRAINED RESERVES
GREAT BRITAIN	1,232,854 TONS 	288,215		RUSSIA	5,000	RUSSIA	1,545,000	17,900,000
UNITED STATES	1,062,978 TONS 	336,655		GREAT BRITAIN	4,500	ITALY	1,331,200	5,638,000
JAPAN	754,242 TONS 	93,907		FRANCE	4,000	FRANCE	658,777	5,500,000
FRANCE	546,178 TONS 	180,816		ITALY	3,500	GERMANY	658,000	1,368,000
ITALY	406,333 TONS 	109,876		GERMANY	3,000	GREAT BRITAIN	384,780	669,897
RUSSIA	200,000 TONS 	NO FIGURES AVAILABLE		UNITED STATES	2,200	JAPAN	282,000	2,000,000
GERMANY	125,458 TONS 	III,500		JAPAN	2,100	UNITED STATES	166,139	308,239

HOW THE LEADING NATIONS OF THE WORLD COMPARE IN ARMED STRENGTH

JOHNSON

2. To defend Hawaii, our Pacific territory. If Hawaii is attacked, it will be by Japan, and military and naval experts are practically agreed upon our present ability against Japanese attack.

Western Hemisphere

3. To prevent the invasion of any part of the Western Hemisphere by European or Asiatic nations. Should we be prepared to do this? Would American national interests suffer heavily if Germany, Italy, Japan, or any other nation or combination of nations should invade South America? Should we go to war to prevent such a thing? There is a difference of opinion on this point. But the overwhelming weight of opinion in the United States probably is that we should defend the Americas from outside attack. The weight of expert opinion is also to the effect that we are at present in a position to do this. Our navy is stronger than Japan's, and the Japanese would have to go farther to get to South America than we would. We could defeat them in South American waters. It is con-

undate to hold these islands against the Japanese, we would need a navy two or three times the size of the Japanese navy. We would be obliged to double our naval forces. This being the case, former President Hoover says, "we have hitherto included the Philippine Islands in our lines for defense. While we should give them every friendly office, they have made their decision for themselves. There is today no moral obligation or national need upon the American people to stand either this expense or incur this danger. Our policies in naval strength should be aligned to this fact."

We Should Decide

Do the American people agree that we should not go to war to protect the Philippines? Do they agree that in deciding how large our navy should be we should not plan to defend the Philippines? These questions should not be ignored or passed over lightly. If we intend to hold the Philippines, we must increase our navy not just a little but tremendously. We must double it. We must have a force very much larger than any which is now being seriously considered. We must either do that or else we must form an alliance with the British; and even that would not certainly prevent the Philippines from falling into the hands of Japan in case of war, for it is not certain that the British would be able to move the main part of their fleet to Asiatic waters in case of a war with Japan. If we and the British should fight Japan, it is not at all unlikely that the Germans and Italians would strike. Then the British would be obliged to keep their fleet in European waters. Probably they would feel the necessity of doing that. Even though a European war did not actually break out, they would have to be prepared for such a thing.

The other possibility, of course, is that we should decide not to fight the Japanese. For let no one close his eyes to the fact that as things stand today the Japanese would probably take the Philippines within a week after the outbreak of war. If we decide, however, that American vital interests do not require the defense of the Philippines, our naval tasks become much easier, for as we said a while ago, we can defend our mainland, Hawaii, and the whole Western Hemisphere with our present force.

Protection of Trade

5. To protect our commerce. It is frequently said that our continued prosperity depends upon our maintaining foreign trade and that we must, therefore, have a large navy in order to protect our commerce on all the seas.

This statement requires analysis. We do need to trade with other nations. We cannot be prosperous without doing so. But our ordinary trade does not need to be defended by armed force. It cannot be stimulated by the navy or airplanes. No one is interfering with our trade in peaceful parts of the world. We can trade with foreign peoples only when we profit by an

interchange of goods with them and when they also profit by such interchange. Commerce is maintained when it is to the mutual advantage of all concerned that it be maintained. Our trade with foreign nations is cut down not by hostile action on the part of any nation but by two considerations—(1) Foreign peoples do not have enough money to buy our goods. We cannot give them money by fighting them. (2) By trade restrictions, such as tariffs, quotas, and so on, foreign trade is reduced. We do not use our navy to force other countries to lower their tariff walls. Neither have they ever used their navies to force us to lower ours. Friendlier trade relations can be brought about only by friendly negotiation.

The protection of commerce becomes an issue when the attempt is made to carry on that commerce in regions where foreign countries are fighting. When we try to trade in war zones, we are likely to come into conflict with one of the nations which is engaged in the fighting. If, for example, we try to carry on trade with China today, we are likely to come into conflict with Japan. Shall it be our policy to fight if necessary to protect American property rights in war zones and to protect our trade in territory or in waters swept by war? If we are going to do that, we need as large armed forces as we can maintain. Even if we built as heavily as we possibly could, we cannot have fleets and air forces and armies sufficiently effective to defeat every country and all the countries which may be engaged in war and which may interfere with our trade in the war zones. If our policy, therefore, is to protect our citizens against injury in war zones and to maintain our trade in such regions, we must be prepared not only to have enormous military and naval forces but also to form alliances and to join with other nations in carrying on war. In order to make a rational decision in connection with the size of our armed forces, we must decide whether our trade in war zones means enough to us to justify the expenditures which have been indicated.

To Check Aggression

6. To keep foreign nations from making war upon other foreign nations; to check aggression; to keep democratic nations from being defeated by nations which are not democratic.

For example, should we go to war with Japan to keep that country from conquering China? Should we go to war with Germany to keep that country from expanding its territory at the expense of Czechoslovakia or Russia? Should we join forces with England and France and Russia to help them prevent aggressive expansion by Germany, Japan, or Italy?

If that is our purpose, we need all the arms we can get and also a system of alliances with the more democratic nations or with the nations which do not seek to expand.

This issue is, of course, an immediate one. There is a possibility that we may go to

war with Japan shortly because of injuries which the Japanese may commit against the lives and property of Americans in China and against American armed forces in China. President Roosevelt, in his address to Congress, used very strong language. He indicated that he thought the sinking of the American gunboat *Panay* by the Japanese was a valid cause of war. He said that the Americans had exercised great restraint in not going to war. He intimated that America would go to war should similar incidents arise in the future. We have apparently, therefore, left the decision of peace or war with Japan to the Japanese themselves. If they act with prudence and restraint, there will be no war. If they do not, there may be. Whether or not they will, we do not know.

Do we at present have large enough armed forces to defeat the Japanese if we get into a war? Our navy is stronger than theirs. Our air fleet is larger. The Japanese certainly could not strike at the American mainland. But the fighting would be



ATTACK PLANE GENDREAU

ceivable, of course, that a combination of European powers might attack the east coast of South America at the same time that the Japanese were attacking the west. That possibility becomes fanciful, however, when we look reality in the face. We know that the British would never be a party to such an undertaking, for they could not forget the location of Canada. One can scarcely imagine the French going to war with the United States. Germany does not have a large naval force now, and even if she built one, she could not withdraw it from European waters, leaving herself open to possible attack near at home. To anticipate a concerted war in the Atlantic with the United States for the conquest of South America is to assume a unity of purpose in Europe which a sane person could scarcely imagine.

4. To protect the Philippines and other American possessions in the Far Pacific from attack. That is a different story. If we should ever fight Japan she would attack the Philippines and, under present circumstances, she could take them. They are near Japan and far from us. If we should

done in their own waters. It would be brought about by conditions which prevail in territory near Japan and far from us. We would be fighting to vindicate American rights not in California or Ohio or New York, but in China. In order to get what we went to war to get we would have to defeat the Japanese in China or their own waters, or else we would have to apply economic pressure upon the Japanese so strongly as to cause them to crumble nationally and accede to our demands.

Two things would undoubtedly happen shortly after the opening of hostilities. First, the Japanese would take the Philippine Islands. Second, the Japanese people would feel a terrible pinch of poverty. Their chief agricultural industry, the production of silk, would be paralyzed because they depend upon the Americans to buy most of this silk. Their chief manufacturing industry, the production of cotton goods, would be paralyzed because they could not get American raw cotton. This would be a terrible blow to the Japanese. The government of that country, by taking control of everything, could probably set the people to

(Concluded on page 8, column 4)



NIGHT FIRING ACME

AROUND THE WORLD

Ireland: Extended conversations held in London last week between Premier Neville Chamberlain and Eamon de Valera, head of the Irish Free State, lend substance to the belief that the age-old quarrel between Ireland and England may soon be settled in a friendly way. Several issues have stood in the way of a settlement. First is the question of Irish independence. This would not be a difficult hurdle were it not that Ireland herself is divided into two parts, 26 counties in the south and six in the north. The southern counties, predominantly Roman Catholic in faith, want to be entirely free of British rule and the British have not objected to that. Only a few weeks ago, as a matter of fact, southern Ireland, formerly known as the Irish Free State, inaugurated a new government under a constitution that makes no direct reference to the British Empire.

The change in government occurred without the slightest protest from London. But De Valera is not satisfied with having the 26 southern counties free. He believes that Northern Ireland should also be freed of British rule and that it be united in a single state with the southern counties. But the people in the north, predominantly Protestant in faith, are loyal to the British crown. They do not want to be separated from England. And the British are determined that they shall not be forced to separate from England against their own wishes.

If this question can be solved to the satisfaction of both London and Dublin, an agreement of some kind is bound to result, for the other issues that remain can be disposed of quite easily. On the question of the land annuities, amounting to \$25,000,000 which De Valera has withheld from British landlords, it is believed that a compromise can be reached. Since southern Ireland has no armament factories, it is suggested that the money, due the British for estates divided among Irish peasants, be used solely in building up Irish defenses, thus affording protection also to England.

* * *

Spain: Now that the rebel counter-offensive against Teruel has failed and the loyalists remain firmly entrenched in the city, the rebel high command has turned to another strategy wherewith to crush the government's will to resist. Barcelona, the loyalist capital, hitherto but slightly scarred by the war, is now being subjected to constant bombardment from the air. It is feared that the city will undergo the baptism of fire and destruction that made a shambles of Madrid.

From the rebel point of view, the bombardment of Barcelona has much to com-



STREET SCENE FROM THE RIVER BRIDGE, LIMERICK, IRELAND

PHILIP D. GENOREAU

mend it. It is here that the government's munitions are made, and if Franco were to cripple the factories and plants now given over almost entirely to arms, loyalist Spain would be paralyzed.

* * *

Far East: With the Japanese Imperial Council apparently having arrived at a decision to pursue the China war until the entire country is brought under its rule, the Chinese forces are now making a desperate effort to stem the Japanese invasion. No longer hindered by purely political administration work, Chiang Kai-shek, the Central government's dictator, is rallying the remnants of his army and the first reports indicate that he is meeting with some success. The Chinese have ousted the invaders from Tsining, in Shantung Province, and are said also to be threatening the Japanese garrison in Nanking.

The Chinese, it appears, have taken courage from the fact that the People's Republic of Outer Mongolia is preparing to send them aid, both in the form of troops and ammunition. Since Outer Mongolia is so closely allied with Soviet Russia as virtually to be a part of her, the Chinese believe that Soviet Russia will eventually move to their support.

* * *

France: Once again the French republic is in the throes of a political crisis, only this time the situation appears more hopeless than others that have preceded it. In the last few days, following the fall of the Chautemps government, a number of political leaders have been sought by President Albert Lebrun to form a cabinet. Camille Chautemps, immediately upon his resignation, was asked to do so but he refused. Georges Bonnet, the influential finance minister under Chautemps, tried his hand at the job. So did others. But none found himself equal to the task.

At length, Leon Blum, leader of the Socialist party and first premier of the Popular Front government, agreed to make an effort to construct a cabinet that would enjoy the confidence of the Chamber of Deputies. When he failed, Chautemps was called upon once again.

The political crisis was brought about by a difference of opinion in the Chamber of Deputies on how to meet a serious financial situation. Due to social unrest and an increasing number of strikes, many Frenchmen during the last few months had been shipping their capital out of the country. This resulted in the franc's declining sharply in value. To halt this movement and also the flight of capital, the Communists, supported by the Social-

ists, urged the government to take stringent measures. This, Premier Chautemps refused to do, with the result that these two parties withdrew their support from his government and he was forced to resign, as a matter of course.

What makes finding a successor to Chautemps so difficult is that no single party in the Chamber commands a majority. Since June 1936, the cabinet has consisted of a coalition, supported by the Radical Socialists, the Socialists, and the Communists, that has come to be known as the Popular Front. If this coalition now proves to be split beyond repair it may be necessary to dissolve the Chamber of Deputies and call new elections. This would require the approval of the president and the Senate.

* * *

Hungary: Budapest recently was the scene of a conference attended by the foreign ministers of Italy, Hungary, and Austria. These three states met under the Rome protocols of 1934. In that year, Premier Mussolini of Italy called together the statesmen of Austria and Hungary for the purpose of outlining a common policy in the face of threats of German expansion. Il Duce was particularly anxious to forestall a Nazi move to annex Austria. At that time the dictators were rivals.

It was under altogether different circumstances and with a reversed aim that the more recent meeting of the Rome protocol powers was held. As a consequence of his Ethiopian venture, Mussolini had lost the friendship of France and England. He was sadly in need of a firm friend and an ally, so he turned to Hitler. The two

found much in common. Not only did they renounce their rivalry, but in the form of a Rome-Berlin axis they cemented an alliance that was to become a decisive factor in the political setup of Europe.

Working in close harmony, the two dictators have divided Europe largely into two camps. They pledged themselves to further the cause of fascism wherever the opportunity, as in Spain, presented itself. They sought to destroy the League of Nations by making it appear that that organization was bent solely upon preserving the balance of power in Europe in favor of democratic states. Finally, through the anticommunist pact, they sought to bring the smaller nations of Europe within the orbit of their influence.

This was the avowed aim of the Budapest conference. Count Ciano, the Italian foreign minister, urged Austria and Hungary to join the Rome-Berlin axis, to recognize formally General Franco's regime in Spain, to abandon Geneva, and to join the anticommunist pact. He succeeded in persuading the two states to recognize General Franco, but they balked at joining the anticommunist pact and deserting the League. To that extent, the conference was a blow, if a temporary one, to the fascist bloc.

* * *

Officials of the Manchukuo government are said to be seeking a \$50,000,000 loan from the United States, to be expended in the purchase of American machinery. Whether such a loan would be forthcoming, in view of the uncertainty in the Far East, is considerably in doubt.

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As one of the first acts of the new "democratic" government of Soviet Russia, the Soviet Supreme Council has been voted the power to declare martial law during both peace and war.

IT'S THOSE BOYS ACROSS THE TRACKS AGAIN
MORRIS IN JERSEY JOURNAL"THAT'S WHY THE LADY IS A TRAMP!"
TALBERT IN WASHINGTON NEWS

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CAPITAL AND LABOR LEADERS AT THE WHITE HOUSE

After a conference with President Roosevelt to discuss the state of business. Left to right: A. A. Berle, former brain trust; Philip Murray, CIO Leader; John L. Lewis; Owen D. Young, General Electric Company; Thomas W. Lamont, partner of J. P. Morgan.

Seeking Cooperation

When John L. Lewis, fighting leader of the most militant section of the labor movement, sits down with great captains of industry, such as Thomas W. Lamont and Owen D. Young; especially when these men sit down together in the office of the President of the United States, the event is an interesting one. That is what happened a few days ago.

The conference was one of a series which President Roosevelt is holding with leaders of industry and labor. It is easy to guess what these men talked about. They discussed the depression into which the country has been slipping since last fall, and means whereby the nation may be turned back toward recovery. There is a general feeling

in certain industries have been forced unduly high, increasing costs of production and causing price rises. It is claimed in particular that high wages in the building industry have prevented expansion of housing. It is argued, too, that labor warfare has been both costly and disquieting to business.

A recital of these charges and counter-charges indicates the points at which compromises must be reached if the government, industry, and labor are to cooperate wholeheartedly. Too much must not be hoped for from these conferences, for it is hard to reconcile great forces such as the members of the conference represent. Furthermore, these leaders cannot do everything they may please to do. The President, for example, is not a dictator—he is the head of a democratic government, and he can never be sure that he can carry Congress and the people along with him. Neither can such industrialists as Lamont and Young and Sloan guarantee what the conduct of all the business companies of America shall be. And John L. Lewis has not the power to prescribe what wages the carpenters, bricklayers, and stonemasons throughout the country shall accept.

Progress toward cooperation may, however, be made. The government is agreeing to amend some of the tax laws which are being attacked, and changes in these laws, fairly satisfactory to business, may be made. A certain amount of progress has been made toward defining the government's future position with respect to the electric utilities. And labor is certainly less militant and aggressive than it was a few weeks ago. If the business leaders should leave the conference with renewed confidence and should adopt a more hopeful tone, their confidence would probably soon trickle down to smaller business throughout the country, and a condition more favorable to recovery would then be created.

Congress at Work

The legislative mill in Washington is grinding slowly. The Senate spent most of last week haggling over the antilynching bill, which has monopolized debate since Congress convened. When the committee which is working on farm legislation reports, the farm bill will take precedence over the antilynching bill, but the committee is having a great deal of trouble deciding what it wishes to recommend. After the farm bill, the Senate will take up the President's plan to reorganize the executive department.

The House of Representatives has been considering appropriation bills which allot money to the various government departments. The House must also pass on the farm bill when it comes from the committee. A revised edition of the bill to fix a national standard of maximum hours and minimum wages is expected to appear in the House soon. Although the House refused to pass a wage-hour bill during the special session, it is thought that a bill might go through now. The President stressed its importance in his message. Southern opposition is reported to have lessened in the last month; in fact, seven southern governors have declared themselves in favor of a wage-hour standard.

H. B. E.

NEW ASSOCIATE JUSTICE
Solicitor General Stanley F. Reed, who has been nominated for the Supreme Court by President Roosevelt.

that the downward trend in business has resulted from causes which could be corrected if only the government, business, and labor would cooperate wholeheartedly.

Industrial leaders declare that the government has hurt business by imposing heavy taxes upon surpluses which corporations put by. They point to the fact that the government is competing with private industry in some quarters, and that this produces a loss of confidence on the part of businessmen. In particular, they refer to the Tennessee Valley, where the government is producing electricity and distributing it to cities which have municipally owned power plants. Other complaints made by business include the charge that the government is spending too much money, unbalancing the budget, and causing a general loss of confidence.

Administration leaders reply that captains of industry are hindering recovery by opposing all forms of regulation, and by spreading a psychology of gloom in order to force the government to let them do as they please. It is charged further that they have raised prices so high that the people cannot buy their products and that this is a cause of the business depression.

Against labor the charge is made that wages



H. B. E.

Solicitor General Stanley F. Reed, who has been nominated for the Supreme Court by President Roosevelt.

The Week in the

What the American People Are Thinking

The House's committee on taxation has recommended a bill which deals with the two taxes criticized so bitterly by businessmen, the capital gains tax and the surplus profits tax. In both instances, the principle of the tax has been retained, but changes have been made in its application which are aimed to protect small businesses.

what the people of the country are thinking about various issues, has conducted another poll. The representatives of this Institute have gone about over the nation asking this question: "Which policy should the government follow with regard to American citizens in China: (1) warn them to leave and withdraw our soldiers, or (2) continue to main-

A New Justice

Stanley F. Reed, solicitor general of the United States, has been appointed to fill the seat on the Supreme Court left vacant by the resignation of Justice Sutherland. President Roosevelt sent the appointment to the Senate a few days ago, and it is not likely that the senators will have any serious objections. Mr. Reed has already had a great deal of experience with the Court. As the government's lawyer, he handled many important New Deal cases, such as the NRA, the AAA, the TVA, the Wagner Labor Relations Act, the Railway Labor Act, and, only a few weeks ago, the PWA power project cases.

Mr. Reed, a native Kentuckian, practiced law in his home state from 1916 until 1929, when he was appointed counsel to the Federal Farm Board. Later he moved to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. He held his post there when the New Deal came in, and became one of the President's most influential advisers. In 1935 he was appointed solicitor general. His appointment gives the Court a decided "liberal" majority. Mr. Reed definitely belongs to that group, although he is not thought to be as radical as Justice Black.

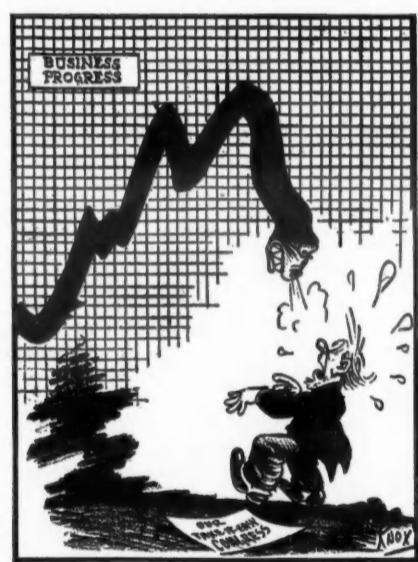
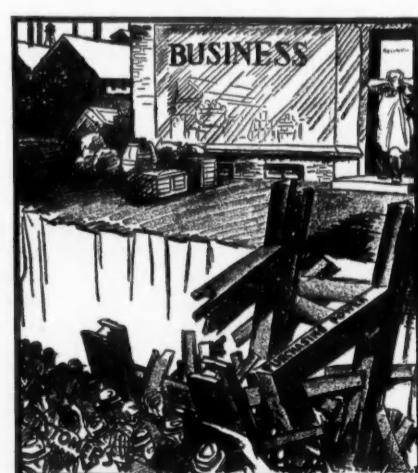


SAWING WOOD

A scene in a CCC camp as painted by H. B. E.

Voice of the People

The Institute of Public Opinion, an organization which has been sampling public opinion for a long time, trying to find out

THE WORM TURNS
KNOX IN MEMPHIS COMMERCIAL-APPEALREPAIR THE BRIDGE
DOYLE IN PHILADELPHIA RECORD

tain the present armed forces in China for their protection." This question was asked thousands of people, and 70 per cent of them answered that the government should warn our citizens to leave and that we should withdraw our soldiers; only 30 per cent thought that the present policy of keeping our armed forces in China to protect our citizens and their property should be maintained. The sentiment in favor of going on with the present foreign policy was strongest in the North Atlantic states where 36 per cent of the people endorsed it. In the west central states, however, only 23 per cent of the people to whom the question was asked favored the course which is being followed.

Does this poll truly reflect the opinion of the American people? The Institute was quite accurate at the time of the last presidential election. Its poll came very close to the actual election results. If this last straw vote is equally accurate, should our leaders in Washington take notice of it? Should our foreign policy be changed so as to follow the wishes of two-thirds of the people? Or on the other hand, should those responsible for the conduct of our foreign policy continue to do what seems to them to be in the nation's interest regardless of the state of public opinion? That is an interesting and important question in political science.

Why Holding Companies?

At a recent press conference, President Roosevelt startled the financial and industrial interests of the nation by saying that all holding companies should be abolished. "Why have any?" he asked, indicating that in his opinion they are useless. A holding company, generally defined, is a company which does not operate a business itself. It makes no automobiles, generates no electric power, mines no ore. It owns, or "holds," the controlling interest in one or several operating companies. One super holding company may own the controlling interest in several minor holding companies, which in turn may control a great many operating companies in various industries.

The President discussed holding companies in answer to a suggestion made by Wendell L. Willkie, president of the Commonwealth and Southern Corporation, which is a holding company in the electric utility field. Mr.

the United States

Doing, Saying, and Thinking

Willkie proposed that the Federal Power Act be amended to strike out the provision which aims at doing away with holding companies in the utility field, the so-called "death sentence" clause. The President's answer to this proposal was that the administration could never agree to a modification of the clause.



WORKING WINTER
Hegh, one of the CCC boys.

The next day, Mr. Willkie issued a public statement in which he offered to sell the \$1,167,848,000 interests of the Commonwealth and Southern Corporation to the government, rather than face the "ruinous" competition and regulation which he feels the New Deal has imposed.

CIO Family Trouble

The latest disagreement in organized labor has arisen within the ranks of the CIO. David Dubinsky, president of the ladies' garment workers' union, recently criticized John L. Lewis for not making peace with the American Federation of Labor. He blamed the CIO chief for the failure of the conferences between the two great labor organizations. A few days later, Max Zaritsky, president of the hatters' and millinery workers' union, concurred with Mr. Dubinsky.

The controversy between Mr. Lewis and Mr. Dubinsky opened the whole labor question again. If other leaders of the CIO join with Mr. Dubinsky, they may force Mr. Lewis to come to terms with the A. F. of L. One of Mr. Dubinsky's criticisms of the CIO was that members of the Communist party are too influential in it. Similar charges are being aired in many newspapers by Benjamin Stolberg. Mr. Stolberg has always been considered to be very much in favor of the CIO, but he says that it must get rid of the communistic elements within its ranks if it is to succeed in the future. His statements about the CIO carry much more weight than if they were made by writers who have consistently opposed it.

Congress and CCC

As an economy measure, President Roosevelt has asked Congress to reduce the appropriation for the CCC from 350 million to 230 million dollars. The House of Representatives has approved the reduction, but it has yet to go through the Senate. Observers in Washington say that the President does not really expect Congress to reduce the appropriation. The CCC is regarded as one of the most popular of New Deal programs. Also, members of Congress frequently get large portions of the CCC funds for their districts, so it is not likely that they will reduce the amount to be passed out.

Although the CCC is still a temporary

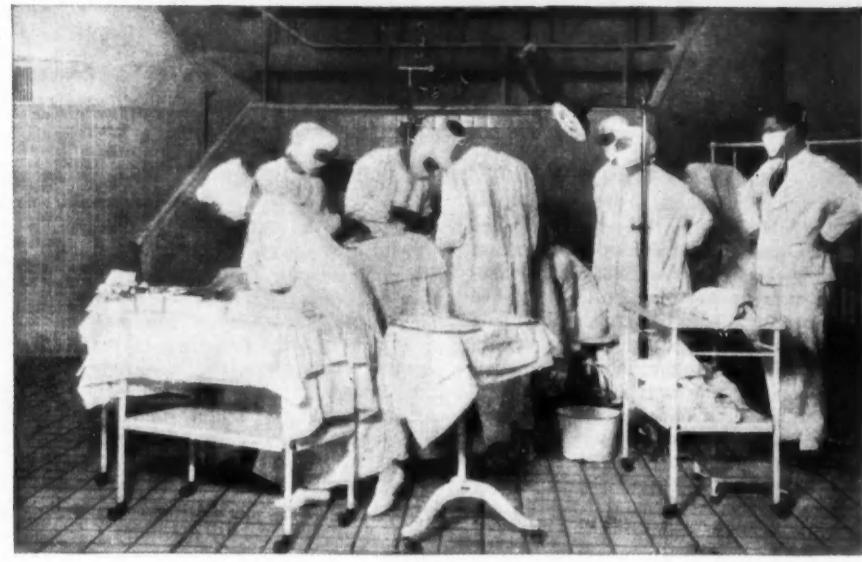
agency, scheduled to die in 1940, there is considerable agitation in Washington to make it permanent. Besides providing work for several million young men, the CCC has done valuable service in conserving national resources. In the national parks alone, it has planted 39 million trees, built 8,000 miles of roads and trails, constructed 12,000 park buildings, built 987 dams, worked on lakes and ponds, built picnic grounds and camp grounds, developed wells and springs, fought forest fires, and worked for fire prevention.

The Big Money

Recently the Treasury Department made public a list of the men and women who, during 1936, received salaries of more than \$15,000 from corporations. At the head of the list was Alfred P. Sloan of General Motors Corporations, who was paid \$561,311 for his services. Another General Motors executive, William S. Knudsen, ranked second to Mr. Sloan, with \$459,878 for the year. Nine other General Motors officials were paid more than \$300,000 during the year. Altogether, 56 officials of this corporation received salaries in excess of \$50,000 in 1936.

In the country as a whole, 300 persons were paid salaries of more than \$50,000 for the year. Included in this number were quite a few movie stars. Ten of these people were paid more than \$200,000. They are as follows: Gary Cooper, Ronald Colman, Claudette Colbert, Mae West, Madeleine Carroll, Warner Baxter, Marlene Dietrich, Ruth Chatterton, Charles Boyer, and Rudy Vallee.

The Treasury list does not begin to give a complete picture of the highest incomes in the nation, since it includes only salaries. It does not take into account the money which people make by investing their funds in corporation stocks and in other ways. Many of the highest-paid people make much more money in investments than they earn in salaries.



OPERATION
From a photograph by Hart, from "Medical Magic" by David Dietz.

NEW BOOKS

RUSSIA, a vast country occupying one-sixth of the globe, is one of the least understood nations in Europe. Largely, the lack of knowledge about what is taking place under her government is the product of the Russian dictatorship which, through an efficient censorship, regulates the faucet of news to the world. Newspaper correspondents, in order to retain their Moscow posts, must remain friendly with the government, and therefore cooperate in some measure with this control. Otherwise, our only source for completely unhampered reports lies with travelers who visit Russia and return with their impressions. These, too, are open to criticism, because few are complete and objective. Some are based only on a few months' inspection of the Soviet experiment. Nearly all are steeped in bias, either radical or reactionary. Thus, there is a confusion of information from which one can hardly obtain a wholly reliable picture.

One of the few commentators who seems to have avoided most of these pitfalls is Eugene Lyons, author of "Assignment in Utopia" (New York: Harcourt, Brace. \$3.50). Written as his autobiography, this book is chiefly occupied with his six years in Russia, where he was correspondent for the United Press. The reader may believe at the outset that Lyons is laboring under a pronounced radical bias, because he describes his early liberalism and his work with communist and labor organizations. He quite frankly states that the opportunity to go to Russia as a newspaper correspondent seemed to be an adventure under a Utopian scheme.

However, the unrolling picture of the methods which Stalin used became a sight which gradually undermined his determined belief that Russia was the only progressive nation. Arriving with songs of praise, he succumbed to doubt and disillusionment. This came about when he measured the gains of the Soviet regime in terms of the human suffering and mistreatment which they brought. His picture of the communist experiment, woven into a personal narrative, is one of the best books on Russia to be published in many months.

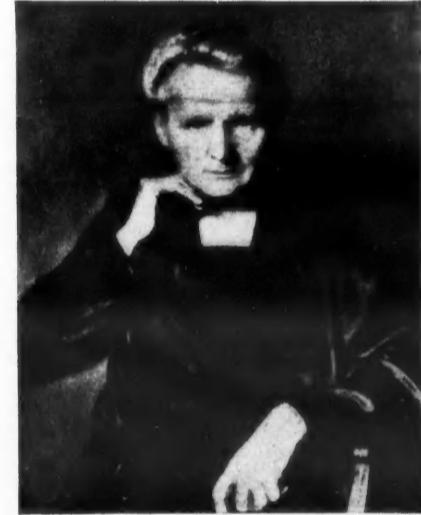
ONE of the women who achieved immortality for her scientific discoveries was Madame Marie Curie, codiscoverer of radium. She shared the award of the Nobel Prize for physics in 1903, and won it for chemistry in 1911. Her other honors fill several printed pages. Everywhere scientists praised her, while humanity benefited from the results of her painstaking research. The honors and the adulation which she received would have turned a lesser person's head. She might easily have become rich and powerful. But she scorned these opportunities, and devoted herself to more work. She cared for science and mankind rather than fame.

We are fortunate to have the story of this life told by one who was close to its experiences. Eve Curie, daughter of the famous Marie and Pierre Curie, has written the biog-

raphy of her mother, "Madame Curie" (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran. \$3.50). She has a marked ability for writing, and avoids the pitfall of embroidering her account. The story is based on extensive research for letters and conversations with persons who knew Madame Curie's girlhood. It is an accurate picture of the woman about whom Einstein said: "Of all celebrated beings, the only one whom fame has not corrupted."

* * *

HERB-BREWING witch doctors still practice their ancient profession in uncivilized regions. Muttering strange gibberish over their fires, they use snake skins, insects, roots, and pebbles as their stock in trade. With these they attempt to effect cures on their suffering patients. Many of us today would not be



MADAME CURIE
(From "Madame Curie," by Eve Curie.)

alive if their practices had not given way to the growth of a scientific medical profession. The rise of enlightened methods was not easy, but it finally won over superstition. Consequently, the average length of life has been increased by many years. Diseases which formerly caused plagues now are found only in isolated cases. Step by step, the battle has progressed against the enemies of man's health.

Many of these advances seem almost miraculous. The knowledge which scientists have discovered with test tubes and microscopes has brought results that are little short of magic itself. An excellent picture of the present medical field in which these feats are being performed is given by David Dietz in "Medical Magic" (New York: Dodd, Mead. \$3.50). A professor on the faculty of Cleveland College in Western Reserve University, the author is well known for his popularized accounts of scientific subjects. In 1937 he won the Pulitzer Prize in Journalism, a coveted honor among newspapermen. He fully succeeds in achieving the hope that this book will help the reader to form an adequate picture of the present state of medical knowledge and the importance which medical research will have in the future.—J. H. A.

Historical Backgrounds

By David S. Muzzey and Paul D. Miller

Foreign Policy and Preparedness

FREQUENTLY in the past the United States has adopted policies in its dealings with foreign nations without making adequate preparations to meet their possible consequences. It has been recognized long in advance that the results of a certain course of action might embroil the nation in war, and at the same time no preparations for war have been made. As the machinery of diplomacy was making war a distinct possibility, the military machine—the army and navy—was left woefully inadequate to meet that crisis, and no steps were taken to provide the necessary armaments. An examination of the past wars reveals the basic inconsistency between American foreign policy and the preparations which were made to carry that policy to its logical conclusion.

War of 1812. Though it was apparent for many months that war with either England or France was a distinct possibility, when the actual declaration was made, the nation was entirely unprepared.

The Congress which voted for war adjourned without providing for war taxes or without voting for an increase in the navy. State militia had to be called into service—men untrained and incapable of acting efficiently. Many of those in places of command, from the secretary of war down, were not of the stature of real leaders. While Congress did eventually authorize the construction of new ships, the war was over before they were completed. The government's financial position was weak, and it became extremely difficult to get the funds necessary for the conduct of the war.

War With Mexico. One of the basic facts to be considered in connection with this war was the relative inferiority of Mexico. While the issue of war had been a real one for a decade before the actual declaration, it was a foregone conclusion that the United States could win. The day of the actual declaration, however, a bill was passed by the House, providing for the enlistment of 50,000 soldiers and the appropriation of 10 million dollars. The prosecution of the war, moreover, was not so successful as might have been expected. There was friction between the President and some of the generals in charge of the campaigns. There was divided responsibility and lack of discipline, resulting in great confusion. Discord and recrimination

characterized the conduct of the entire war.

Spanish-American War. Theodore Roosevelt correctly sized up the situation when he declared that the most striking thing about the war with Spain was the preparedness of the navy and the unpreparedness of the army. The inefficiency and lack of preparedness of the army were as conspicuous as was the brilliance of the naval campaign. An example of this unpreparedness for a war which had long been considered a possibility is cited by J. H. Latané in his "America as a World Power," part of the American Nation Series. Professor Latané describes the landing of one expedition in the Spanish War as follows:

The expedition under Shafter began disembarking at Daiquiri on the morning of June 22, and by night 6,000 men had with great difficulty been put ashore. No lighters or launches had been provided, and the only wharf, a small wooden one, had been stripped of its flooring: the war department expected the navy to look after these matters. In addition, the troops had been crowded into the transports without any reference to order, officers separated from their commands, artillery pieces on one transport, horses on another, harness on a third, and no means of finding out where any of them were. By the aid of a few launches borrowed from the battleships, the men were put ashore, or near enough to wade through the surf, but the animals had to be thrown into the sea, where many of them perished, some in their bewilderment swimming out to sea instead of to shore.

The World War. When President Wilson discovered that he could not bring the belligerent powers to terms, and that the demands of the United States for respect of its neutral rights were being ignored, he turned to a program of preparedness. Fully a year before the actual declaration of war against Germany, the program was underway. Preparedness parades were held throughout the country during 1916. During the summer, the Wilson administration pushed through Congress a number of bills providing for the strengthening of the military and naval forces of the nation. A large number of naval vessels were authorized, the regular army was enlarged, the national guard strengthened. Early in the fall, 50 million dollars was appropriated for the purchase or construction of merchant ships. On the economic front, Congress created the Council of National Defense, whose purpose it was to coordinate and organize American industry in the event of a war.

Only in the case of the World War had the United States made really extensive, and anything like adequate, preparation for a war which had become a distinct possibility as the result of the foreign policy which the administration was following.



AMERICA PREPARES FOR THE WORLD WAR
(From "The First World War," edited by Laurence Stallings. Simon and Schuster.)



GALLOWAY

MANILA, P. I.
Should we go to the defense of the Philippine Islands?

Something to Think About

Are You Sure of Your Facts?

1. Did Herbert Hoover say that the United States should go to war if necessary, (a) to defend the Philippines; (b) to check militaristic aggression against helpless foreign peoples; (c) to defend South America against foreign attack; or (d) to protect our commercial rights?

2. True or False: The extent of a nation's foreign trade usually depends upon its power to protect its commercial rights.

3. True or False: The United States would probably be able to prevent Japan from seizing the Philippines in the event of war.

4. What is the largest minority group in Czechoslovakia?

5. What country now controls South Tyrol?

6. Who is the newly appointed justice of the United States Supreme Court?

7. What very important city now held by the Spanish loyalists is being attacked by the Franco forces?

8. Is Dubinsky a (a) musician, (b) movie director, (c) A. F. of L. leader, (d) capitalist, (e) CIO official?

9. During what war did the Americans throw their horses into the ocean?

Test Your Emotions

On page five of this paper you will find a note which tells of the enormous salaries received by officials of some of our great corporations. What are your feelings when you learn of such facts? We are not asking what you say about it, but how do you feel? Which of the following statements most nearly expresses your attitude:

1. They do not deserve it. It makes me indignant to think that some people are so greatly overpaid, while others suffer for the necessities of life.

2. That is all right. They have big jobs and no doubt earn what they get. I resent it when people imply that big business leaders should not be amply rewarded for their services.

3. I have no particular feeling about it, one way or the other; not interested.

4. I am interested in the figures, but neither approve nor disapprove the big salaries. I have not enough facts about what these men contribute to the public so that I can judge whether their salaries are deserved.

If your attitude is that expressed by statement number one, how do you account for your emotion? Do you object to the large salaries because you have studied the problem and have come to a reasoned and logical conclusion that the people of the nation would be better off if big corporations did not pay so much to their officials, or is your attitude due to a prejudice; to some notion which never has been based on evidence; to a dislike for big business or for rich people that you may have acquired at some time?

If it is a matter of prejudice, do you know when that prejudice was picked up?

One whose feelings are best expressed by statement two may ask similar questions of himself. If he feels that rich people in general are entitled to what they get, is this due to carefully thought out convictions, or to notions which have been picked up without evidence; in other words, to a prejudice?

If statement three best expresses your feelings, how do you account for your lack of interest and conviction? Is it due to a reasoned belief that it makes no difference to you and to the rest of the country whether big salaries are paid or not, or do you care nothing about such matters merely because you suffer from lethargy or laziness or lack of public interest?

If statement number four best expresses your view, are you doing anything, or do you plan to do anything, to gain further information?

Can You Defend Your Opinions?

1. Use facts presented in this issue of The American Observer to sustain your belief either that we should or should not enlarge our navy.

2. How would you answer the question asked in the Institute of Public Opinion poll? Give your reasons.

3. Which of the possibilities listed under the head, "If Continued" (page 7), seem to you most probable? Which under the head, "If Curtailed"? In the light of your answers, how would you answer the question at the top of columns 2 and 3, page 7?

4. Do you think that the vague or false use of words is a serious problem in politics? Give examples of words or terms used for the purpose of confusing or misleading.

5. Which minority peoples in Europe, if any, should either be given their independence or joined to some other nation?

REFERENCES ON NAVAL POLICY: (a) Our Choice in the Far East, by Nathaniel Peffer. *Harpers*, June 1935, pp. 18-25. (b) Wanted: A Naval Policy, by H. W. Baldwin. *Current History*, November 1935, pp. 125-130. (c) Billions for Defense, by G. P. Nye. *Forum*, April 1936, pp. 206-210. (d) Naval Bases in the Pacific, by W. H. Chamberlain. *Foreign Affairs*, April 1937, pp. 484-494. (e) Japan and Philippine Independence, by James S. Allen. *Nation*, December 4, 1937, pp. 610-612. (f) Can We War on Japan? by Oswald Garrison Villard. *Nation*, January 1, 1938, p. 746.

REFERENCES ON MINORITIES: (a) Prague's Way with Minorities, by A. J. Toynbee. *Living Age*, September 1937, pp. 24-28. (b) Jews of Eastern Europe, by D. Kiss. *Foreign Affairs*, January 1937, pp. 330-339. (c) World Over: Situation of the Reich's Greatest Minority, *Living Age*, November 1937, p. 194. (d) Jewish Faith-Christian Civilization, by Herbert J. Seligmann. *New Republic*, December 8, 1937, pp. 123-126.

Word Tyranny

Confusion Results When Exact Meaning Is Not Clear

CAN you communicate your thoughts to other people? Can you use words in such a way that they will know what you mean? It depends largely, of course, on what the words are—what the thoughts are. If you say "dog," "house," or "knife," the people to whom you speak will know fairly definitely what you mean. The picture in their minds may not be exactly what the picture in your mind is. There may come to them a picture of a different dog, a different house, a different knife from the one which you saw in your mind when you spoke. But at any rate there is not very much confusion. Suppose, however, that you speak the words "idealism," "progressive," "patriotism," "justice." Will the impression which is in your mind be transferred to the mind of the hearer?

There would be some indefiniteness in a case of that kind. Stuart Chase has written a book called "The Tyranny of Words" (New York: Harcourt Brace Company, \$2.50), in which he discusses the difficulty of using words to impart thought. In his opening pages, he tells of a man named Upward who asked a number of his friends to give their personal interpretation of the term "idealism." He received the following answers: "fanatical," "altruistic," "not practical," "exact,"



THE SHADOW ON CAPITOL HILL
MESSNER IN ROCHESTER TIMES-UNION

"poetical," "intangible," "sentimental," "true," "what cannot be proved," "opposite of materialism," "something to do with," "imaginative powers." "This," says Mr. Chase, "gave me pause. I thought I knew what 'idealism' meant right enough and had used it many times with confidence. Obviously, on the basis of Upward's study, what I meant was rarely, if at all, communicated to the hearer. Indeed on examining my own mental processes I had some difficulty in determining what I did mean by this lofty word."

People who have selfish interests to serve often take advantage of the indefiniteness of words in order to promote their own plans. A scheme which someone is advocating may be made to appear desirable if the word "patriotic" or "progressive" is applied to it. If a politician wants to "smear" his opponent, he may call him a "Red," knowing full well that the term "Red" is quite generally disliked, and that if he can get thoughtless people to associate it with his opponent, it will be a bad thing for the opponent. He does not expect that the people to whom he speaks will analyze the term "Red" carefully and determine just what it means, and then as carefully examine the record of his opponent to determine whether or not the term fits. It is very difficult to use words in such a way as to make meaning clear. It is very easy to use them in such a way as to confuse others. A knowledge of this fact should induce people who wish to be politically educated to do two things: (a) to study words and use them with great precision, and (b) to be on guard against those who use political terms loosely or falsely, either through ignorance or through evil designs.



COURTESY UNITED STATES NEWS

Should the Government Drastically Reduce Its Expenditures for Relief?

People who are well educated politically will not decide this question on the basis of snap judgments or emotion. They will undertake here, as in all questions, to decide first what the probable consequences of the proposed action would be. They will try to estimate also what the probable consequences will be if the proposed action is not taken. They will then determine which set of consequences would best serve the interests of all the American people. In making up our mind on this question, we are not dealing with certainties. We do not know for sure what would happen if one course or the other is adopted. Policies adopted by the government often have unintended effects—effects which no one is able to foresee. The best we can do is to guess at the results of the different policies, making use of all the evidence which is available. In the first of the columns found below, there are brief statements of possible developments in case the government continues or enlarges its present program of spending for relief. In the second of the two columns there are statements of possible developments in case the work-relief program is drastically cut.

IF CONTINUED

1. Distress due to unemployment may be relieved throughout the United States, thus adding materially to the happiness of the American people.

2. The morale of millions of unemployed Americans may be kept up by their being given something to do.

3. If the government uses its credit to borrow money and distributes this money by hiring the unemployed at work-relief jobs, it may thus put added purchasing power into the hands of the people. This purchasing power may lead to increased buying, thus stimulating business and turning the country again toward recovery.

4. Millions of people continue to get relief. They may get permanently into the habit of avoiding work in private industry.

5. Continued government spending and deficits may produce uncertainty about the strength of the government's credit. This may hurt business and prevent recovery.

6. The government may get so far into debt that people will lose confidence in its ability to pay its debts. Then it may have to print paper money to carry on its expenditures, thus producing inflation, which will be ruinous.

Suppose, after careful thought and study, you decide that if the spending program is continued the developments indicated by one, two, and three, under the head "If Continued" are probable; suppose at the same time you think that developments indicated by one, two, and three in the next column are probable if spending is cut—under these circumstances you will, of course, decide that the program should be continued. If, on the other hand, you decide that consequences indicated by four, five, and six in both columns are probable, you will want the spending program to be cut. You may decide, of course, that consequences four, five, and six of the first of the columns and one, two, and three of the second are both possible. It is such possibilities as these which make our decisions very difficult. Naturally, the greater the difficulty, the more necessary it is that we read and think carefully, thoughtfully, and without prejudice. As you undertake to make your decision you will meet several difficulties. First, unless you have studied the problem at great length, you will lack information which will enable you to determine which of the possibilities under each head are the most probable ones. This difficulty can be overcome in part by wide reading and much discussion. It cannot be overcome in any other way. No citizen, however intelligent, can come to a snap judgment on a question of this kind and have any assurance that his position is sensible. When problems are so complex there is no short cut to an understanding of them. In another column of this page we are supplying a number of references which may be helpful. Another difficulty you will meet is that your opinions may already be formed before you begin your study. An opinion formed previous to careful study is a prejudice. It is so called because it is a case of pre-judging or arriving at a judgment or an opinion before a weighing of evidence. This is a very common error, but one which should be avoided by the competent student. The student who reads fairly widely, taking care to examine both sides of the question, will be in a position to engage in intelligent discussion and the discussion will clarify his ideas and assist him in the development of his opinions.

IF CURTAILED

1. There may be widespread distress among the unemployed, leading to discontent and even to rioting.

2. Millions of people, forced to go for long periods without anything to do, may get a distaste for work and become permanently pauperized.

3. The lack of purchasing power on the part of millions of people may seriously cut down the amount of buying done throughout the country and may thus keep business at a low ebb and prevent recovery.

4. The states, cities, and private charity may take up the burden of relief, thus preventing distress, while at the same time saving the federal government from going more deeply into debt.

5. Private business may gain confidence. When it sees that the federal government's finances are being put in order, there may then be an expansion of private industry which will give jobs to the unemployed.

6. Expanding private industry, by giving jobs to the unemployed, may add to the purchasing power of the people so that industry will be stimulated and prosperity restored.

Student Action

Many Subjects Suited to Work of Discussion Clubs

IF a student club is formed in your school, as the editors of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER believe it should be, it will have a variety of purposes. One purpose will be entertainment. It should be stimulating and interesting to those who participate. It should have social aspects as well as educational. The chief purpose, however, will be to furnish a forum where the really important problems of national and community life can be discussed freely by the members.

In this issue of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER those who participate in such discussions will find plenty of material for their work. Great issues are before us these days. The question of what to do about China, of whether we should increase our armaments, of whether we should try to defend the Philippine Islands, whether our government should continue its work-relief program; all these issues are vital and they all furnish a challenge to the best thought which can be given them. The questions on page 6 under the head, "Can You Defend Your Opinions?" are suitable for extended discussion either in the classroom or in a student discussion club.

References on Relief Problems: (a) Record of the Boondoggler. *Nation*, December 18, 1937, pp. 680-683; December 25, 1937, pp. 715-717. (b) No One Shall Starve. *New Republic*, December 22, 1937, pp. 186-187. (c) How the WPA Buys Votes. *American Mercury*, October 1937, pp. 194-213. (d) Scuttling the WPA. *Nation*, September 4, 1937, p. 223. (e) In Praise of PWA Housing. *New Republic*, June 9, 1937, p. 132. (f) Planning of Public Works in Relation to Employment. *Monthly Labor Review*, September 1937, pp. 594-602. (g) Financing of Public Works. *Annals of the American Academy*, January 1936, pp. 207-211. (h) Can Government Spending Cure Unemployment? *Atlantic Monthly*, October 1935, pp. 408-412. (i) I Earned It, Didn't I? *Survey*, April 1936, pp. 108-109. (j) Politics in the WPA. *Review of Reviews*, April 1936, pp. 35-36. (k) New Relief Proposal. *New Republic*, March 17, 1937, pp. 164-165.

Your Vocabulary

Do you know the meaning of the italicized words in the following sentences? One does not like to attend a concert with a *loquacious* person. No one can look at the results of the unemployment census with *apathy*. The foreign correspondents in China are leading a *precarious* life. Employers claim that labor leaders *coerce* workers into joining unions. Prison wardens are seeking ways to lessen the *odium* which freed convicts must face. Some of the ideas of the Puritans seem to us too *austere*. One cause of car wrecks is that too many *novices* are driving in heavy traffic.

PRONUNCIATIONS: Eamon de Valera (ay'mon day' va-lay'ra), Leon Blum (lay-on bloom'—o as in go), Camille Chautemps (ka-mee' sh'ot'm)—first o as in go, second o as in hot), Albert Lebrun (al'ba'ruh' leh'bruhn'), Georges Bonnet (zor'z' bo'nay)—both z's as in azure, o as in or), Il Duce (sel' doo'chay), Ciano (chah'no).



UNEXPECTED GUESTS!
CAGILL IN CORTLAND (N. Y.) STANDARD

Minority Peoples

(Concluded from page 1)

those of school age; libraries were built containing collections of books entirely in the German language. The government even went out of its way to support German theaters with subsidies and to build two technical schools for German students, where but one was provided for Czech students.

Effect of Depression

Relations between the government and the German minority were quite cordial until about 1930. Then, the economic depression set in and dissatisfaction grew apace. It was particularly the heavy industries, supported by a large export trade, which suffered, and it was precisely in the industrial regions that the Germans were concentrated. In part, the Germans were themselves responsible for their plight. In the early days of the Czech republic, few of the German industrialists living there had faith in its stability. They deposited their funds and frequently exported their working capital to Germany, with the result that when inflationary policies ran amuck in Berlin, they lost their fortunes.

But, however their troubles were to be explained away, the German minority grew increasingly restive. With the worldwide economic recovery of the past few years, in which Czechoslovakia and particularly her industrial region shared, their complaints might have ceased were it not that Chancellor Hitler then came upon the European scene. In line with his well-known policy of uniting Germans everywhere in a "greater Reich," he turned his attention toward Czechoslovakia. He encouraged and, it is charged, gave financial support to the creation of a Nazi movement among the Czechoslovak Germans. A party, calling itself the Sudeten Germans, was formed with the purpose of securing an autonomous government for the German areas. And the campaign is now being further supported by a violent succession of outbursts in the German Nazi press against the Prague government. The *Berliner Tageblatt*, one of the most prominent Berlin newspapers, not long ago published a picture of Spanish war refugees but labeled it, "The Plight of Germans in Czechoslovakia." This is only a sample of what is being done.

Whether Chancellor Hitler's concern for

the German minority is based upon genuine grief for what his compatriots have to endure under a democratic form of government or whether, as some hold, it is a mere pretext to be conveniently employed when the moment arrives for German expansion eastward, the fact is that the minority problem makes Czechoslovakia one of the worst danger spots in the whole of Europe.

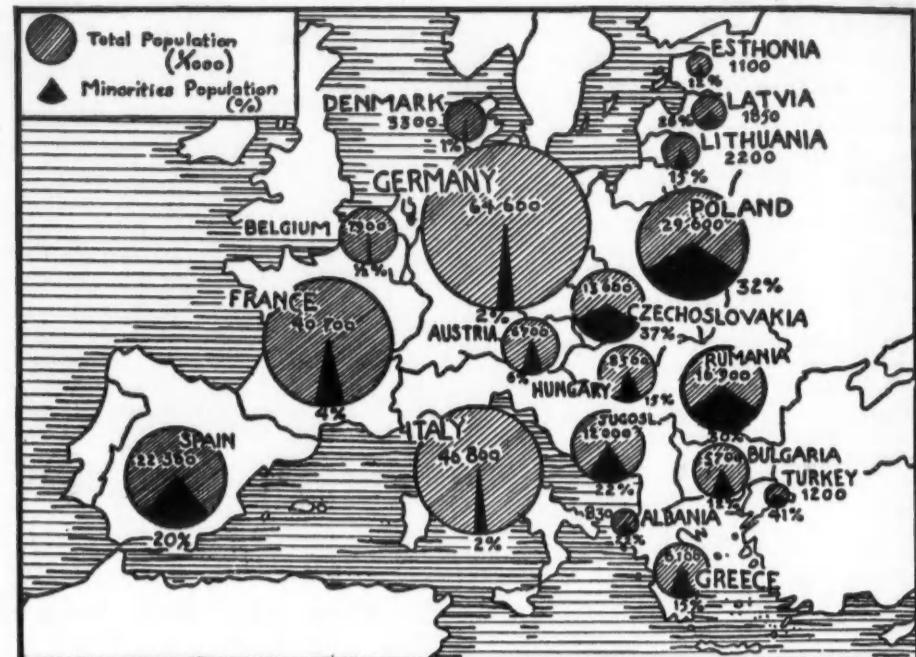
South Tyrol

An example of minority treatment under fascist rule is offered in South Tyrol, which also belonged before the World War to the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. This region was given to Italy to compensate her for her support of the Allied cause. The Italian government gave assurances that the 250,000 Germans in Tyrol would be treated "with the most scrupulous respect for local self-governing institutions and customs." They were to have had the high degree of local self-government which they had enjoyed even under the Austrian monarchy. They were to have had schools of their own. They were to have been accorded the same privileges as Italians living in Italy.

But as soon as Mussolini came to power, he embarked upon a systematic program of wiping out all traces of the former heritage of these Germans. The use of the German language in law courts and schools was forbidden, contrary to treaty. The Tyrolese were forced to assume Italian names. In a decree of September 1927, it became compulsory to use Italian even in the inscriptions upon tombstones. Burdensome taxes were imposed upon the Germans to which other residents of Italy were not subject. The teaching of the German language became a serious crime and two men caught in the act were sent to the notorious convict island of Lipari.

What Solution?

Granted that the minorities present Europe with an urgent problem and that for



MINORITY GROUPS IN EUROPE

(From "National Minorities in Europe," by Otto Jungham, Covici, Friede.)

the peace of the continent, if not out of purely humanitarian sentiments, it demands a solution, what steps can be taken? The truth is that the most astute European statesmen are baffled. Suppose the western part of Czechoslovakia, harboring the great majority of Germans, were to be lopped off and either made an autonomous state or given to Germany. That would doubtless meet with the desire of the Czech Germans. But to do so would mean to create still another minority problem, for there would then be about 500,000 Czechoslovaks under a Nazi government. There is no reason for believing that these Czechs would be happier under such a regime than are the Germans under the democratic regime of Prague. Indeed, there is reason for believing that their lot would be infinitely worse.

Geographical revision is thus not likely to meet with success. There are Hungarians complaining of their treatment in Rumania. There are Poles in Germany seeking to be united with Warsaw. There are Germans in Poland seeking to be united with Berlin. But in each case, as in that of Czechoslovakia, the solution of the minority question through territorial changes would involve substituting one injustice for another.

Jewish Minorities

And whatever territorial changes should be made, they would be of slight comfort to the Jews living in Central Europe. The Jewish minority question is in a class by itself. The 9,500,000 Jews in that part of Europe are not seeking territorial revision. Unlike the Germans in Czechoslovakia or the Poles in Germany, they do not form a single national group. It is rather their religion which is at the base of their troubles. In Germany, as is well known, they have been reduced to the status of second-class citizens without any rights except those that the Berlin government may see fit, at any moment, to permit them. Other minority groups, if persecuted, can pursue a path of least resistance, become assimilated with the nation in whose midst they live, and thereby enjoy full political and economic equality. That choice is not given the Jew in Germany. To change his religion would not alter his lot, since he is considered a Jew if both his grandparents were Jews, though he himself might be a devout Lutheran. Nor is he given the chance to leave Germany for some other country, since Nazi regulations permit him to take only a fifth of his property out of the land. The remainder is confiscated by the state. Similar conditions now exist in Rumania, where with the advent of Premier Octavian Goga, a pro-German politician, a large sheaf of anti-Jewish measures has been decreed. In Poland, where there are over 3,000,000 Jews, no overt laws have been passed against them. But through tax and credit policies, to quote a writer in *Foreign Af-*

fairs

fers

the Polish government has taken

effective steps "to exclude Jews from in-

tellectual and economic life."

AMERICAN NAVAL POLICY

(Concluded from page 2)

producing food and war materials and could carry on with a low standard of living for a long time. The military and naval experts are agreed that we could not deal Japan a death blow by direct military action for many months—perhaps years. We might do it if we had British cooperation, which we might or might not get. But before the war had gone on very long, it would, in all probability, draw other nations in and then the final result would depend upon the arbitrament of arms in a world-wide contest.

7. There is one other consideration which may affect our decision as to the proper size of our armed forces. We may say that we do not want to go to war on any of the conditions which have thus far been outlined. We may add, however, that this is an uncertain world in which we live; that we do not know what the future will bring forth; that we do not know into what kind of conflict we may be drawn or what kind of combination of enemies we may have to meet. In the face of these uncertainties we may say it would be well to have as large military and naval and air forces as we can support. Then, having this great equipment, we will be heard with more respect when we speak to other governments. Perhaps we can even avoid being drawn into wars if the nations against whom our forces were to be used actually feared the consequences of war. Against this position we must, of course, balance the possibility that our augmented building program may force further building by others and lead the world closer to disaster.

Whatever our policy about armaments may be, it would be well for us, when we contemplate the possibility of going to war, to think seriously of these solemn warning words which were spoken recently by former President Hoover:

One of these lessons is that the victors suffer almost equally with the vanquished. War's aftermaths of debt, inflation, unemployment, unrest, and spiritual degradation halt progress and project misery for decades.

And while we are on the gloomy side of these consequences, let me add an effect of another great war on the United States. With the recent peacetime increase in our national debt, we could not finance such a war without an inflation which would confiscate the savings of all of their present holders. . . .

Another lesson, and perhaps the most important of all these lessons, is that democratic government now, and for many years to come, probably could not stand the shock of another great war and survive as a democracy. Free economic life is not built for war. We have heard a great deal about the coming conflict between nations under autocratic governments and nations under democratic governments. We certainly learned from the last war that the area of democracy was bitterly shrunk and autocracy gained. . . .

Smiles

"Look here," said the boss to the clerk, "what does this mean? Someone just phoned up and said you were sick and wouldn't be in the office today."

The clerk thought for a moment, then burst out laughing.

"The joke's on him. He wasn't supposed to ring up until next Friday!"

—SELECTED

It is wondered why the government is withdrawing \$2 bills from circulation—just at a time when a \$2 bill comes in so handy for buying a dollar's worth of almost anything.

—Atlanta JOURNAL

Customer: This must be an incubator chicken you brought me.

Waitress: Why?

Customer: Because only a chicken without a mother could be as tough as this one.

—Wellington (Kans.) DAILY NEWS

The shortest unit of time, says a local man, is the difference between the moment the traffic light changes and the driver behind you honks.

—Niagara Falls REVIEW

"How many of your girl friends are in on our little secret?"

"Six, all told."

"They would!"

—CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

The football match was being played in torrents of rain. The teams were ankle-deep in mud.

At the interval the home players were two goals down. Everything seemed to be going against them.

"Come on, boys!" shouted one of the crowd. "The tide's with you now!"

—Vancouver SUN

A man looking at some neckties tossed one or two aside contemptuously. Lingering after having made his purchase, he noticed that the clerk put those he had so positively rejected in a separate box.

"What becomes of those?" he inquired.

"We sell them to the women who come in here to buy ties for men."

—Lindsay Post

Psychologist advises parents to ignore temper tantrums of children. Try it sometime when the neighbors are in for an evening of bridge.

—SELECTED



"YOU WOULD CHOOSE A TIME LIKE THIS FOR YOUR BOAT DRILL!"

MCKAY IN COLLIER'S